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S E R M O N
Preached before the
U N I V E R S I T Y
O F
O X F O R D,
A T
St. *M A R Y*'s
O N
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1745.
O N T H E
P R E S E N T R E B E L L I O N.

By *FRANCIS POTTER*, M. A.
Vicar of *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*.

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JEREMIAH xxii. & 30. latter
Part.

--No Man of his Seed shall prosper, sitting upon the Throne of David, or ruling any more in Judah.

THE Words are Part of a most severe Judgment denounced by the Mouth of *Jeremiah*, against an idolatrous King of *Judah*; whom, we may suppose, Attachment to a false Religion had rendered cruel and insupportable. It will always be found that destructive Practices are the natural Consequence of impious Principles: Every Defection from *God* produceth Ill-will to Man; and the more pure that Religion is, which is corrupted by them, the more fatal and furious will the Effects be of Superstition and Idolatry. When by the wicked Devices of *Abab* and *Jezebel* the *Israelitish* Church was over-run by them, so hot was the Persecution of the Orthodox Members

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of it, that the Prophet imagines himself to have been the only Worshipper of the true God who escaped it. *I, (a) even I only am left, and they seek my Life, to take it away.*

In like manner, when the Sons of Rome became the great Corrupters of Christianity, the destroying Principle soon prevailed over the natural Obligations of Justice and Humanity among them; and the Blood which hath been so plentifully shed for the Advancement of the Catholic Cause, and the Extirpation of what *they call Heresy*, may inform us how closely they have kept to their old Rule; which is, that he is “no Murderer who kills out of Zeal for his Mother the Church.” Persecution and Popery are, and must be, ever inseparable. *Can (b) the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots?* They may, indeed, and they will at all Times, till they get us into their Power, endeavour to deceive us with *Jacob's Voice*, but we shall ever experience that their Hands are the Hands of *Esau*. Our only Security against falling into their Hands is a steady Adherence to our present Government; and should the Enemies of our most holy Religion, now in Arms, or at any Time hereafter, prevail against it, to be inflaved at Home is not the worst Mischief (however grievous it may really

(a) 1 Kings, xix. 10.

(b) Jerem. xiii. 23.

really be to us) that we must expect from it. Our Monarchy might become tributary by it to the *French* King, whose destructive Schemes of *universal* Empire would thereby be rendered practicable, and all *Europe* be involved in the Calamity; which can never happen while *Great Britain* remains a *Free* and *Independent* People.

To awaken therefore our Vigilance for the common Good at this critical Juncture, let us bring the Matter home to ourselves; and, from the History of former Ages, observe how little any Prince, brought up under the Influence of *France* and *Rome*, is to be trusted by us. Whereby it will appear,

First, How destructive He must necessarily prove to this Nation, both as *Protestants* and *Free* People. Which

Secondly, Will furnish us with many reasonable Arguments against what hath been long and much insisted on, Unalterable Hereditary Right.

And *First*, We of this Church and Nation have severely smarted under *Popish* Princes; their fairest Promises we have often experienced are very slight Securities: And how indeed should it be otherwise? when their Religion, if it oblige them not, encourages them at least, to cancel all Obligations with Regard to *Protestant* Subjects, and to extinguish all Humanity, and, I may say, common Honesty towards them.

That “ no Merits or Services can secure
 “ Men from the Cruelties of that Religion,”
 was an Observation no less judiciously made,
 than exactly verified in the Reign of Queen
Mary I. Not many Years before, when
 not a Friend she had beside, not her Fa-
 vourite Bishop of *Winchester* himself, who
 was present at the Time when the King
 her Father declared his Resolution of cut-
 ting her off, would risque his Interest at
 Court, by speaking in her Favour, the good
 Archbishop (1) *Cranmer* singly interposed.
 and saved her Life.

In the next Reign Judge (2) *Hales* alone, of
 the whole Bench and Council, stood firm
 to her Interest, and would neither be pre-
 vailed on by the Menaces of *Northumber-*
land, nor the more persuasive Intreaties of
 his beloved *Prince*, to join in the projected
 Settlement of the Crown on Lady *Jane Grey*.

And the (3) *Suffolk Protestants*, to whom
 she flew for Refuge after her Brother's
 Death, cordially and generously espoused
 her Cause, and put her in quiet and full
 Possession of that Power, which soon proved
 fatal to themselves and Fellow-Subjects.

Thus was that Princess indebted to *Cran-*
mer for her Life, to *Hales* in some measure,
 but especially to the *Suffolk* Men, for a
 Crown. Obligations of the highest Nature!
 and

(1) *Speed, Baker, Burnet, Stripe.*
Stripe.—Echard.

(3) *Ibid.*

(2) All but

and such, one would think, as could not easily have been obliterated ! But how did she requite them ? What were the Returns of Gratitude she made them ? Why the good Archbishop, the Man she owed her Life to, she cruelly burnt alive ; persecuted the old Judge from Prison to Prison, till weakened by his own Sufferings, and terrified at the Tortures he saw preparing for others, she drove him out of his Senses, and he destroyed his own Life. Nor were the *Suffolk* Loyalists less severely handled ; they too soon felt the Edge of the Sword they had put into her Hands, and were many of them put to Death in the general Persecution of the Times. And all this (for she had pardoned *Cranmer* the Matter of the Lady *Jane*) without any other colourable Pretence than their Religion : In which too, while her Case was desperate, she laid herself under most solemn Engagements never to molest them.

Who can reflect on such repeated Instances of Cruelty and Ingratitude, and not abhor the Spirit of that Religion from which they flow ? And what can we expect from any *Popish* Prince, when the Authority of that Church could impose upon a Princess of known Piety and Strictness of Life, and cause her to lay aside all the compassionate Tendernefs natural to her Sex ; and out of a barbarous Zeal employ the Sword, with which *God* had intrusted her to protect her People,

People, in a bloody Persecution against them? wherein the Lives of *Hundreds* were inhumanly and wantonly lavished away, without Distinction either of Age, Sex, or Services.

Nor yet was the Spirit of Cruelty and Perfidiousness peculiar to her Time; it is the genuine Fruit of *Popery* in all Ages and Countries; King *John* experienced it in its ugliest Shape, his whole Reign was miserably embroiled by it, and Treasons and Rebellions took Root from it. It robbed *Henry V.* of Sir *John Oldcastle*, a brave and a valuable Subject; neither Rank nor Innocence might redeem a *Lollard* from the devouring Flame. Most (*) of our *Popish* Reigns have been deeply crimson'd with the Blood of Martyrs. Most of our *Protestant* ones have been disturbed by Plots and Conspiracies, hatched at *Rome*, to subvert them. Hence failed the *Spanish Armada*, loaden with Instruments of Cruelty of all kinds to torment us. Hence was that horrid and unnatural Contrivance, the *Powder Plot*, calculated to have destroyed the Three Estates of the Nation at one Blow. And (c) *blest be the Lord, who gave us not over for a Prey unto their Teeth!* For had their evil Imaginations prosper'd, it had not failed but all Orders and Ranks of Men among us, every

(*) Since the Statute *de Heretico comburendo* took place.

(c) *Pf.* cxxiv. 6.

every *Protestant* in the Nation (and all had been esteemed Sacrifice little enough to appease the angry Deity at *Rome*) had tasted the most exquisite and lingering Tortures, that *Popish* Malice and Superstition could invent.

In other Countries this bad Spirit hath raged with still less Reserve: It armed the (4) Leaguers in *France* against their Sovereign, produced infinite Confusions, Miseries, and Slaughters. At *Paris* these Sons of *Belial* rioted in the Blood of *Protestants*. Many Thousands treacherously drawn together to celebrate the Nuptials of the King's Sister, were inhumanly butchered in a few Hours. No sooner did a Cry of Murder run through the Streets of the City, but it was followed by a Tide of Human Gore. And indeed, but that Time would fail, this Massacre taken in all its dire Circumstances of profound Diffimulation and Barbarity, and the Rejoicings for it at *Rome* and *Madrid*, well deserves the most minute Consideration.

In most Instances, Barbarity and Deceit have gone Hand in Hand with them: And it is difficult to say, whether the Church of *Rome* be more cruel or more false. In the Case of (5) *John Huss*, a *Bohemian*, if either may be said to prevail where both excel, it was the latter. He was a Man of great Piety, Courage, and Abilities; which,

as

(4) *Mezeray, Davila.*

(5) *Mezeray.*

as he held many contrary Opinions to them, gave the *Papish* Partizans a strong Inclination effectually to put a Stop to his spreading them : How to get him into their Power, was the Difficulty. The Emperor therefore sends and persuades him to go, and defend his Doctrines at the Council then sitting at *Constance* ; and, to encourage him to undertake it, gives him a Passport and Promise to protect him. But the Promises of Men of that Religion it is dangerous to trust to ! even they themselves declare, that they are not to be trusted ! The Emperor, saith that holy Synod, is no way obliged to keep Promise with an Heretic ; and the poor Man, deceived by Promises, and taken in the Snare, was condemned and dragged to the merciless Stake.

But if *Protestants* are good Men and good Subjects, useful Members of the Commonwealth, or have merited of their Sovereign and Country, in a very high Degree, it is very well for them ; and they have their Reward in it. Yet if they will not turn *Papists*, the Church will convict them of *Heresy*, and the Civil Arm must cut them off. For Religion is a very serious Thing, and of the last Consequence ; nothing may stand in Competition with it. Never was Promise to commit Sin obligatory, nor can Princes in Conscience tolerate an Offence against God. It is their Duty, therefore

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(in no Case to be dispensed with, if it can be done without Hazard to themselves) to extirpate Heretics by every Method, even the most bloody and barbarous; (6) “ as
 “ if all Zeal consisted in being furious, and
 “ all Faith in a thorough want of Charity.

This, however, together with the Practice of such *Popish* Princes as have ascended *Protestant* Thrones, under Colour of embracing that Religion, may teach us to conclude rather that they have Dispensations from *Rome* to personate any thing for the Service of that Church; than that such Conversion or Change of Religion, whenever it may be pretended, is real.

That unfortunate Prince, King *James II.* is a remarkable Instance, not only how little such Professions are to be relied on, but how soon also the best Services of *Protestant* Subjects may be cancelled. When he was Duke of *York*, he lived some time in Profession a *Protestant*. It was exceeding (7) *Penal* but to say he was a *Papist*. When he was Duke of *York* too, he was preserved from the Bill of *Exclusion* by the established Church, and more eminently by her Bishops. No sooner did he become King, than (after a very short Dissimulation) he became a *Papist* confess; and (such is the Power of Superstition even over a worthy Mind!) that

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(6) Dr. *Christ. Potter's* Letter to Mr. *Vicars*.

(7) *Echard*.

very Church, those very Bishops (their former Merits soon buried in Oblivion) felt the utmost Stretch of *Arbitrary Power*. Both were insulted; the latter, seven of them imprisoned, indicted, and arraigned (though to its immortal Honour acquitted by their Country) merely for acting up to their Episcopal Character, in refusing to prostitute their Office to the Subversion of the Church, over which they presided, by complying with an Order of Council, to transmit to the parochial Clergy the memorable Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, which was calculated to render the Church of *England* accessory to her own Ruin, and the undermining herself.

Here again the *Papish* Cause began visibly to decline. This, with other Occurrences, was a plain Indication, that it could no longer be carried on in a *legal* Way; yet the King was set upon it; alas, Zeal had blinded him! and the Church of *England* must be rooted out at any rate. Are the Laws of the Land her Security? Do they stand in the Way? They must be overthrown, or leaped over. Accordingly we are given to understand, that the Laws "are the King's, "and may be dispensed with by him". Force, moreover, must effect what Artifice fails in. *Papish* Zeal will brook no Controul. *Irish* Troops were immediately introduced; and our Country overrun with armed Men.

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The most considerable Places of Strength were put into their Hands; and the Garrisons artfully modelled for the Purpose. *Papish* Officers and Soldiers were intermix'd with every Regiment and Company, the readier to infect the Army; and the experienced Veterans, if suspected of the least Remains of Pity for the expiring Liberties of their Country, were cashiered to make room for them. No Part of the Constitution was uninvaded. Charters were violated; *Magna Charta* broken in upon. The Rights of the People were swallowed up by the Prerogative; every thing was ripe for Ruin: Law, Liberty, Religion; all that is dear, all that is valuable, to us, was on the Brink of falling a Sacrifice at once: And we must have been unavoidably enslaved, had not God, in his Mercy, brought about for us the happy Revolution.

These are Truths not to be denied; nor must they ever be forgotten by us. It behoves us often to revive in our Minds a Sense of the Dangers we were then exposed to; and of our Obligations to the Man, by whom, under God, we were preserved from them. It is the great *Æra* of Joy to us; the Birth-day of our Constitution, and Happiness as a Nation. Every Hope of Peace; every Expectation of Safety to us, and to our Posterity, bears Date from it. As long then as we enjoy the free Exercise of our Religion;

gion; as long as we are blessed with any civil Right, let us commemorate him who was our Deliverer in Songs of Gratitude and Joy! And though the Ungrateful will forget; though some may be dissatisfied with Blessings, as the Jews were on a like Occasion: Let us do contrary to what is said of them! Let us *(d)* remember the Lord our God, who delivered us out of the Hands of all our Enemies, on every Side; and shew Kindness to the House of Jerubbaal (who under God delivered us) according to all the Goodness which he hath shewed unto us.

And may the same wonderful Providence of God, which still watches over us for good, defend and protect us in the Enjoyment of these Blessings: And, at this Time especially, enlighten our Minds, that we may know the *(e)* Things which belong to our Peace! For to what Variety of Wretchedness are they reserved; whose Dependence is on a Religion, not only subversive of their Liberties in general, but which is an Enemy to the very Being of their Church and Constitution? What Protection from a *Popish* Government, can a *Protestant* Church and People hope for? The Extirpation of Heresy, is a prime End to be accomplished by such a Government. *Protestants*, one and all, are condemned already for being *Protestants*; and must all expect to

(d) Judges viii. 35.

(e) St. Luke xix. 42.

to drink of the same bitter Cup. Infinite are the Mischiefs *Popery* would bring upon us; It portends evil Things; it countenances evil Things; Laws cannot hold it; neither can Charity cool it. It makes light of shedding Blood; has lost all Sense of Gratitude; and nothing but a Want of Power to *break*, can influence those who are possessed by it, to *keep* Faith with Heretics. A Maxim, which, (as reputed so by them) to our Cost, we have experienced, *Papists* lay greater Stress on, than any the most solemn, even Coronation Oaths; which may teach a *Wise* and a *Free* People, in Mercy to themselves, and in Kindness to such Princes for the future, not to *run* them into the *Danger* of breaking them.

Secondly, Is it expected then, that Princes, they alone, or more than others, should suffer for Conscience sake? I am far from thinking that any Man ought to suffer for Conscience sake, or for Religion, which is the same Thing. But, why then do we for ever exclude *Papists* from a Throne, to which, perhaps, by Birth, or in the ordinary Way of Succession, they may have Right? This is not on Account of Religion, but on Account of Principles and Practices, the most contrary to Religion and Conscience. It is Iniquity that (f) layeth waste the whole Earth, which overthroweth the Throne

Throne of these mighty ones; and (g) their Kingdom is translated to others, because of unrighteous Dealings: Because, upon the natural Principles of that restless Superstition, we know they must, and by Experience that they will (if once they have us at their Mercy) oblige us all to believe as they do, against Conscience, if they cannot convince it; or at the Expence of the public Peace, and even to the utter Subversion of our Laws and Constitution, by Fire, Sword, and every other cruel Way imaginable; kill and destroy all those, who, wanting Credulity to embrace their Opinions, have too much Honesty to dissemble their own.

And are public Peace and Security, Liberty, Conscience, and Life itself become Matters of such trifling Concern with us, that we must needs tamely submit to have them ravished from us and trampled on at any rate; because it is a Pity that one, whose Religion prompts him to do these bad things by us, should suffer for it? It were a Pity rather that he should not. There can be no Reason to the contrary. Is there any more Injustice in rejecting a Prince, whose Religion renders him as unfit to govern as a Madman, than there is in setting aside one, who is mad in reality? The Inconvenience to the Public, at best, is equal; in all Probability would be greater; the one
having

having a Head to contrive, as well as Hands to execute Mischief. And what Difference to the Sufferer, whether the Stroke, which deprives him of Life, come from a Man frantic in a *religious*, or raving in a *frenzy* Fit? It is Life pays for it in both Cases; and in both is the Commonwealth wounded thro' its Sides. Shall we then again put it to the Trial? Shall we ever, wilfully, run the Hazard of such a Government for the future? Shall we, did I say? as we would be accounted Friends to the *Church of England*, and Lovers of our Country, we cannot. For it is altogether impossible, whatever may be pretended, to be less than *Enemies* to both, and harbour the most distant and secret Thought of a *Popish Prince*. So great Reason have we to hope (if we may be allowed the Application) that *no Man of this Seed may prosper, sitting on the Throne of David, or ruling any more in Judah.*

Nay, but this looks like Resistance, it has been said, and Resistance is absolutely unlawful. The Law of God requires Obedience at the Hand of every one; it commands *(b) every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers*. Be it so; we allow it, and are moreover persuaded, that they *who resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*. But what then? Are the *higher Powers* in every

(b) *Rom. xiii. 1.* See *St. Chrysost.* on this Verse.

every Nation under Heaven the same? If not, how must we know *where* and *what* Obedience is due in all? Were there not as different sorts of Government in being *before*, as *since* the Promulgation of the Gospel? Yet the World is left much as it was found by it, with respect to *civil* Establishments; it alters none of them, neither defines any; it disapproves of none, neither gives any the Preference. Only it tells us that *the Powers that be are ordained of God* in each: And, in consequence of it, that to rebel against any is a very grievous Sin, and without Repentance *damnable*. But does it tell us who those *higher Powers* are, or how much and what Kind of Resistance comes up to that Crime in any? Whence then must we get that Knowledge? In this must the Laws of our respective *Constitutions* instruct us; the Laws of *God* do not. *They* contain Canons against Resistance in general, but it is those of the *Land* that must inform us what that is, and when it is unlawful. There is that is criminal in *one* Country, and not so in *another*; there is that may be downright Rebellion in an *absolute* Monarchy, and yet be stirring Obedience in a *limitedo ne*; under which, if it have Meaning or Privileges in it, Men may very consistently be good and dutiful Subjects, without having *their Ears bored thro'*, and may assert,

assert, in a proper manner, their own just Rights and Privileges, without incurring the Guilt of Rebellion.

King *James I.* may be supposed not to be unacquainted with the Nature of sovereign Authority, especially that Part which concerns the Prerogative; yet he himself allows, that “ a (*) King, governing in a “ settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, “ and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon “ as he leaves off to rule according to Law.”

He can do no Wrong; for, the Wrong once done, the Tyrant commenceth, and the King ceases. The *Regal* is an Office in Trust, conferred on one Man by the Consent of all, for the Good of all. Therefore another (8) Person, and one who wrote in Defence of Monarchy, has said, that when a King aims at “ the Ruin of the “ Commonwealth, and endeavours to over- “ turn the Government, or when he makes “ himself the Dependent of another, and sub- “ jects his People, put free into his Hands, “ to the Dominion of another; *ipso facto* “ he becomes no King, and loses all Power “ and Regal Authority over his People.”

For the Trust reposed in him being betrayed, it devolves to them, who created it: And

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(*) Speech to Parliament, 1609, printed at the End of his Works.

(8) *Barclay contra Monarchem.*

the End of Government itself, being to protect and benefit the People committed in Charge, the supreme Magistrate, of whatever Denomination, if he frustrate that End, “immediately gives up all Care and “Thought of the Commonwealth” by it; and the People are left at Liberty to take such Measures as shall best conduce to the public Utility; may create a new Trust, and lodge the Authority, so forfeited, in other Hands, if they think fit.

But was the Case otherwise; had *Hereditary Right* been entirely absolute and *indefeasible*, and so esteemed in all Ages and Countries, *England* still had found her Account in it; we should have had another, perhaps a better Neighbour at *Versailles*, and the Son of the Pretender had wanted even the poor Excuse he now makes use of, to disturb our Quiet. For (9) *Hugh Capet* procured himself to be chosen and crowned King on the Death of *Lewis V.* by the States of *France*, in Derogation to the Right of the Duke of *Lorrain*, from whom the present *Emperor* is lineally descended. And (10) *Robert II.* the first King of *Scotland* in the
Stewart

(9) *Mezeray*, vol. ii. p. 455.

(10) *Boethius. Buchanan. Johannes Leslaeus Epist. Rossen. de Orig. Morib. et reb. gest. Scoto.* Bishop *Lesley* wrote also in Defence of the Right of the Family to the Throne of *England*. See Mr. *Hunt's Append. to Bish. Right*

Stewart Line, prevailed on the Assembly of the States met at *Scone*, to disinherit his legitimate, and settle the Crown on his natural Children; which, in succeeding Ages, drew after it that of (*) *England*, and was transmitted down in that Family (unless during the few Years of Anarchy and Confusion in *Cromwel's* Days) to the *Revolution*; when it was taken from them by the Authority that gave it. Whereby it may appear that the Pretender's Son (allowing him to be the Grandson of King *James II.*) has

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taken

Right of voting in Par. p. 31. See a small Tract entitled, *The Judgment of Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights and Prerogatives of Kings and People*; said to be revised, if not written, by Lord *Sommers*.

(*) If from their *Scotch*, we look up to the Original of their *English* Title, we shall find that that also centers in the Voice of the People. The Claim commenced from the Marriage of *James IV.* of *Scotland*, with the Princess *Margaret*, Daughter of *Henry VII.* and his Queen *Elizabeth*, in whom the Lines of *York* and *Lancaster* were united. The Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* came from the Loins of *Edward III.* *Edward III.* (not to insist on his being called to the Throne by the People for the Mal-administration of his Father, and in his Life-time, (of itself a great Blow on *indefeatable* Right) was Great Grandson to King *John*, who obtained the Crown not by Right of Succession (for that all Historians agree was in Prince *Arthur*, his Elder Brother's Son) but by a far better Title, the Consent of the People. To know the Conditions on which King *John* ascended the Throne of *England*, see the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Speech at his Coronation. *Speed, Echard, Rapin.*

taken up Arms to possess himself of what, according to his own Principles, he can have no Right to. For, if Parliaments or the People have no Power to alter the Succession of the Crown, the *Stewart* Family have usurped a Title from the Death of *Robert II.* which neither did, or could belong to them. If they have, yet that Right ceased at the Revolution; because the Sovereignty at first fixed upon them by Authority of Parliament, by the Authority of Parliament also was then taken from them again, and given to others. And it happens a little unluckily for a Claimant on *hereditary* Right, that his own Title should depend on the very Power he disputes, an Act of Parliament; without which another Line, not his, had succeeded to the Throne in Question.

Besides Right *indefeasible* is Power *incontrollable*; whereas it is the peculiar Happiness of these Kingdoms to be governed by Laws of their own making, under a King to whom they engage their Allegiance upon a previous Stipulation on his Part to rule according to those Laws, which by his Predecessors have, and by himself shall hereafter be enacted, with the Advice and Concurrence of the other *constituent* Parts of the Legislature. So that the People have as clear a Right to the *legal* Government of the Prince, as the Prince hath to the *legal* Obedience of the
Peo-

People. And if he attempts to substitute his own arbitrary Will in the Place of Law, invades the Rights of the People, and aims at absolute Monarchy, he ceases to be any King of theirs. An absolute Monarch is not one of *the Powers that be in England*. He is quite unconstitutional; the Laws own him not, neither know him; nor did the People ever engage to submit to him.

In which Case too, the Constitution being the Thing in Conscience to be adhered to, the *Higher Powers*, to which *every Soul* in these Realms is obliged *to be subject*, (whereof the Prince is only a Part) it may be a Question, Whether Obedience to him under such Circumstances be lawful: But it never can, whether it be lawful to “oppose (11) a
“just Force to him, if he invade that Part
“which does not belong to him.” For as it is highly absurd, if not “impossible, for
“any to have a Share of the supreme Power, and not to have a Right likewise to
“defend that Share:” So must it be always a fond Hope, and beyond Measure ridiculous, to think of preserving the Whole from Ruin, if once the Balance of Power be suffered to be broken in upon: Which must evidently be the Consequence of Encroachments on either Side, in a Constitution equally consisting of a due Mixture of Power and
Liberty;

(11) *Grot. de jure Bell. & Pacis*, Lib. i. c. 4.

Liberty; wherein the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People, reciprocally bound and secure each other, wherein King and People mutually oblige themselves to rule and obey by fundamental Laws of their joint making, or allowing; whereby the Throne of the Prince, and the Liberties of the Subject, are equally and happily established.

Such are the Blessings of our happy Constitution! But they are Blessings which a *Papish* Prince would, and must deprive us of: So much at least may be learned, if we can learn any thing from the Experience of former Times. They are Blessings we not only enjoy in their full Extent, but which seem entailed on us for ever, by our present *Royal Family*. Our *Sovereign's* Regard to our Civil and Religious Rights hath been long experienced, we may defy Malice to point out an Instance wherein they have been infringed by him. He hath, we know, our Constitution at Heart; hath ever acted, hitherto, by it, and hath promised to make its Rules and Maxims the Measure of his future Government over us. His Progeny have deeply imbibed the same *English* Principles; and, unless we are tired of national Felicity, we cannot surely desert the Succession in his Illustrious House.

Why

Why then, but to sap the very Foundation of our Happiness, to rob us of our only firm and stable Security against religious and civil Slavery, is the Pretender's Son now in Arms? From his present Success Destruction seems pouring in upon us; where it may end *God* only knows: Be it our Care, as it is our Duty and Interest, to oppose him! Be the Means in ours! be the Event in the Hands of Providence! He cannot mean us well: He comes supported by our most inveterate Enemies. He cannot be favourably disposed toward our Church and Constitution; he brings his *religious* from *Rome*, and his political Principles from *Paris* and *Madrid*. Adieu then for ever to our Church and Constitution! Adieu to all our civil and religious Rights! Unless we bravely withstand the growing Danger, and join Heart and Hand in the common Cause. All Distinctions of Party are superseded by it. It is not now who dislikes or who approves of the Measures of this or that Minister of State; but our All is at Stake. And the Question really is, Who is for supporting, and who would betray our Church and Constitution? Both are in Safety under his present Majesty, both on a Precipice if his Enemies succeed.

The Protection of Government is general and mutual; all partake of it, and all should
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endeavour to support it. The Wealth of the Rich depends upon it; the Poor it defends from Oppression and Violence; it is the mean Man's Riches, it is the great Man's Security. Universal Benefits require universal Acknowledgements; and what defends all, should be defended by all. All Orders and Ranks of Men are involved in it; all Orders and Ranks of Men, therefore, should do their utmost to prevent the impending Ruin. To stand Neuter in a Case of such imminent Danger is treacherous and shameful; to betray our Trust thro' an over cautious Inactivity is the worst of Cowardice. It could not be but, (if all would declare themselves) much the greater Part of the Nation would be on the Side of Religion and Liberty. Shall we then meanly suffer ourselves to be inflaved by an inferior Party among us? Where is our Zeal for the *Protestant* Cause? Where the Old *English* Courage our Ancestors were famed for? We want not Motives to kindle Zeal; we want not Cause to excite our Courage. Our Religion and Country at once demand them. We come behind none in Love to our Country, let us then be exceeded by none in an unanimous Defence of it.

Shall we, after all, submit thus ignobly? Our own Welfare, and the Happiness of latest Posterity, depend on our present Conduct.

duct. It were Injustice to desert our purchased Happiness: Our Fathers bought it at the Expence of their Blood; and we are bound in Honour and Conscience to transmit it to Posterity. How shall we answer entailing Slavery on our Children, who were free born? How will our *good Name perish*? How black shall we appear in after Ages, when it shall be recorded of us, that the abject Wretches of this Generation tamely beheld their Country laid in Chains?

Let no one imagine the Case would be otherwise: We must be little conversant with our own History: Strangers indeed to the Temper and Genius of the Church of *Rome*, if we can hope better. Were our Enemies in Arms ever so well inclined to merciful Thoughts? did they promise us Security, and intend to perform it? they must change their Minds if the *Pope* commands: They can remain kind no longer than he shall give leave. When his Jesuits have Orders to preach up *No Faith with Heretics*, they must, or incur his Displeasure (which is no less in their Opinion than eternal Damnation) forget Promises, and cancel Oaths. On this Part of the Pope's Divinity, Queen *Mary's* Reign is so bloody a Comment, that it cannot yet be erased out of our Breasts. Be then the Examples of former Ages our Warning! They were delivered

livered down to us for our Admonition; they read us excellent Lessons; and at this Time peculiarly seasonable.

The Reality of those Principles in *Popery*, which, if they are real, must needs destroy every Foundation of Trust, hath been shewn from undisputed Facts: And shall we trust those, who themselves acknowledge, and whose Practices in every Instance in which we have been concerned, declare that they are not to be trusted? Where such Principles are, they of course destroy all Right to Power and Government, as much as they destroy all Right, all Measure of Justice and Humanity towards those who are to be governed. It has been shewn too, that the Claim of an indefeasible Right to Government by Birth and Succession, as unjust as it is in its Nature, and destructive as it is of all the natural Rights of a People, fails them in *Fact*. That the Family, which claims upon this Principle, must from *real Facts* upon this Principle be excluded. How then is it possible that we should think with any Degree of Favour of such a Claim or Pretension? Can we think, that the Church itself, those who have dedicated themselves to the more immediate Service of *God* and Religion, will find more Favour, or enjoy greater Prosperity under another Reign, and by another Succession, than they do at present?

sent? Have we now no Advantages? no Encouragement? Or have we indeed some Complaints? Whatever they are, we shall not for this Reason desire that a just and legal Government should give way to a Power that declares itself to be absolute; that a pure and reasonable Religion (the Gospel itself peculiarly committed to our Trust) should be given up to a Religion (as it professeth to be) the Errors of which we know; the Principles of which we abominate. When just Government and Religion itself is destroyed, it is not possible that we ourselves should find Favour: If it is possible, it is not suitable to the Ingenuity and Integrity of this Place to desire it.

When an universal Ruin is coming on, in which we ourselves cannot with Integrity to our Religion and to our Country have any Hope, what have we to do, but to throw off all Reserve, to do what we can to prevent this Ruin by other Means, and especially by declaring our Sense and our Resolution in the plainest manner, since this may be most suitable to the Character of this Place, and cannot but have some good Effect at this Time. We may well think that the Public, or our Country, expects this Part from us. The Determination or Judgment of this University, and of every Member of it, hath ever been considered and regarded.

If we with-hold our clearest Determination at this Time, it will, perhaps, be less regarded and have less Authority at another Time, and upon other Occasions. We shall lose the Merit when these Troubles are over, of having spoken our Opinions clearly; of having done all we could, by any Authority that we have, to influence others. This seems to be the proper Part, and the necessary Duty of every one of us at this Time. What (*) Method may be taken to shew this Sense in the most public manner; what other Means may be used of doing real Service, (if any other should be thought necessary and proper) it becomes not me to determine. Posterity will be indebted for any Act of this kind; succeeding Generations, taught by such an Example, may learn to stand up for their Church and Constitution; and *England* remain for Ages to come a *Free People*: Neither enslaved in Conscience by *Popish* Superstition; nor in Bondage for ever to *Arbitrary Power*.

(*) I hope it will not be thought that any thing here said is meant to insinuate Reproach; but from a full Confidence that all proper Methods will be taken, as soon as they shall be judged necessary, agreeable to the constant Conduct of this University at all Times when their Religion and Loyalty are concerned.



F I N I S.